

PASSAGE OF RIVERS.

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A ferry is called *Gru-kha*, and the ferryman *Gru-ba*. 501
 In Ladák itself the ferrymen use only rafts made of 491
 inflated skins; but on the Sanpu river, even above
 Lhasa, boats are said to be numerous; and there has
 always been one on the Indus at Skardo. The name,
 therefore, is well known in Ladák, more particularly as
 most of the Lamas have visited Lhasa. The common [565]
 people are ferried over on a single inflated skin (*phagpa*),
 but great men usually have a raft formed by placing a
 bed over two inflated skins. The skin is generally the
 hide of a buffalo, with the openings carefully sewn up,
 excepting one of the hind legs, which is kept for in-
 flation. The skin floats with the legs uppermost. The
 ferryman throws his arm over it, holding the closed leg
 in his left hand, and a small wooden paddle in his right.
 The passenger sits down, native fashion, on the skin,
 and secures himself by holding the ferryman's shoulder
 as well as the leg of the skin. The ferryman paddles
 with his right hand, and pushes the skin forward by
 striking out his legs as in swimming. I have often
 crossed the Byâs and Chandra rivers in this way. The
 raft is managed in the same manner; but it cannot be
 used either in such rough water or in such rapid
 currents as the single skin.

The bridges of Ladák have different names, according 491
 to the materials of which they are constructed. The
 finest bridges, such as those of Lé and Khallach, are
 called *Shing-zam*, or "Wooden Bridges," because they
 span the river with large beams of poplar. A small
 bridge over the Bhaga river in Lâhul is dignified with
 the name of *Do-zam*, or the "Stone Bridge," because
 the footway is made of rough stone slabs. *Chag-zam**

* *Zani-pa* is a bridge; and the different terms of *Shing*, wood; *rDo*,

IV.—DRESS.

291 The men of Ladák wear a cloak* of woollen, thick and warm. It is usually white, or rather it has once been white; for as the people only wash themselves once a year, and never wash their clothes, their cloaks are always of a dirty hue. Round their legs, from knee to ankle, they have coarse woollen leggings† (of felt), fitting tightly, or else wrapped close round the leg and secured by a garter,‡ which is wound spirally round the leg from the ankle upwards. The garter is generally black, but sometimes red. On their heads they wear either quilted skull-caps, as filthy as their cloaks, or caps of sheep-skin with the wool inside, and with a large flap behind, which covers the back of the neck as well as the ears. Those in better circumstances have fur caps of the same shape. Their boots are of felt, with soles of sheep or goat-skin, which are turned up all round and sewn to the felt. The upper part of the felt boot is open to the front, and is allowed to fall over, something in the manner of the boots worn in England in Charles II.'s time. The lamas have red boots, and the others mostly have theirs ornamented with small bits of coloured cloth in the front.§

The Ladáki women wear a black woollen jacket with a large striped woollen petticoat of many colours, generally green, blue, red, and yellow, reaching below the mid-leg. Over all they wear a sheep skin with the wool inside, secured, or rather skewered, in front by a large

* The cloak is called *La-pa-sha*.

† The legging is called *rKang-Phying*.

‡ The garter is called *rKang-gDub*.

§ See Plates XVII. and XXIII. for the men's dress.

291 iron or brass needle. The poorer classes have the outside of the skin plain, but those in better circumstances cover it with coarse woollen baize, either red, blue, green, or yellow, with a broad border always of a different colour. The upper classes cover this sheep-skin cloak either with brocade or with silk. Their heads are always bare, the hair being arranged in a border of narrow plaits, which hang round the head like a long fringe. From the forehead, over the division of the hair, they all wear a long narrow band of cloth studded with coarse many-flawed turquoises, which hangs down behind as low as the waist, and is usually finished off with a tassel of wool or a bunch of cowrees. The ears are covered by semicircular woollen lappets, fastened to the hair and edged with brown or black fur, generally of the otter-skin, called Kunduz. These ear-flaps are always red, the inside being woollen, and the outside brocade. These are made coarse or fine according to circumstances; for the Ladáki women seem to pride themselves upon the style and material of these lappets just as much as European ladies do upon the fashion of their bonnets.*

292 The dancing-women wear similar dresses, but they sometimes also have long gowns, of different colours, instead of the jacket and petticoat. Their heads are always covered, either with a coloured and quilted skull-cap, or with a circular, flat-topped, stiff woollen hat, something like a short shako without a peak. These are ornamented with cornelians and turquoises.† All

* See Plates XV. XVI. XVIII. XIX. and XXII. for the women's dress of Kanáwar, Spiti, and Ladák.

† Plate XXII. Moorcroft, I. p. 328, remarks that "a Ladáki female in full costume would create no small sensation amongst the fashionable dames of a European capital."

- 301 classes of women wear, besides, a profusion of necklaces, made of cornelian, turquoises, or amber, and they have also massive ornaments of silver and brass, studded with
 293 turquoises. Both men and women wear in their waist-cloths or girdles a *Chakmak* (or leather case ornamented with brass, containing flint, steel, and tinder), and the men, besides, usually carry a knife or dagger in their girdles. The women likewise carry a brass spoon, a convex brass mirror, and a case of coarse needles attached to their girdles; to these may be added a small metal or wooden cup or quaigh, a single or double flageolet, a metal spoon, and plate, all of which are stuffed into the slackened breast of the dress, next the skin, along with a ball of wool, a coil of rope, and a few unleavened wheaten or barley cakes.

V.—FOOD.

- 262 The food of the common people usually consists of
 ● 565 thick barley cakes, or of barley-meal moistened with water, with a broth of turnips, either fresh or dried, according to the season, to which are added a few peas, and a seasoning of salt and pepper. Meat is seldom tasted by the poorer classes excepting upon occasions of
 272 rejoicing, at a birth or marriage. Tea is now, I believe,
 565 coming into common use, although I never myself saw any of the labourers drinking it. Amongst the upper classes tea is drunk two or three times a day. It is made in a strong decoction with soda, then seasoned with salt and churned with butter, until it acquires the colour and consistency of thick rich cocoa or chocolate.
 264 Wheaten cakes are eaten with it in the morning, either plain or with butter and sugar. The same meal is

264 repeated in the middle of the day, with any fruits that
 ● 565 may be in season,—apples, grapes, and apricots, or with
 the last dried. In the evening they usually have rice,
 and a broth of turnips, or of sheep or goat mutton, for
 262 since the occupation of the country by the Hindu
 784 Dogras, Yak's flesh is no longer to be had in Northern
 Ladák. Even in the British district of Spiti, the Yak is
 now a sacred animal, as our Government have made
 over the district to the Hindu raja of Bisahar.

273 All classes are exceedingly fond of spirituous liquors,
 although they have nothing better than their own
 indigenous *Chang*. This is made from fermented barley
 and wheat flour, and has a most disagreeable sour smell,
 like that of bad beer, and a thick appearance like dirty
 gruel. This is the usual beverage; but it is sometimes
 distilled, by which process a clear spirit is obtained,
 something like whiskey, but of a most villanous flavour.

VI.—SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

595 The most remarkable social institution of the Botis is
 565 the system of polyandry, which is strictly confined to
 brothers. Each family of brothers has only one wife in
 common. The most usual number of husbands is two,
 but three and even four husbands are not uncommon.
 This system prevails of course only among the poorer
 classes, for the rich, as in all eastern countries, generally
 have two or three wives, according to their circum-
 stances. Polyandry is the principal check to the
 increase of population, and however revolting it may be
 to our feelings, it was a most politic measure for a poor
 country which does not produce sufficient food for its
 inhabitants.

CASTE--riks or roospa.

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565 There are 5 great classes or castes, each of which is termed a "riks" the sub divisions of these 5 great classes are called roospa."

If a person of a higher "riks" marries a person of a lower "riks", the former is put out of caste and joins the caste into which he or she has married.

The following table shows the different classes and their principal sub-divisions.

[595] The first class or "rigál rihs" consists only of royal personages.

The second class or "trangzey rihs" consists of priests of the different sects. Among Lámás no castes are recognized, all lámás in virtue of their priestly calling, rank next to the royal caste.

[647] The third class or "rjey rihs" consists of the upper class officials.

The fourth class or "hmang rihs" consists of the Zamindars in general.

[463] The fifth class or "tóbey rihs" consists of artizans, musicians, dancers, and jugglers.

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CLASS I.
Rgiál riks.

CLASS II.
Trángzey riks.

CLASS III.
Rjey riks.

SUB-DIVISION.	SUB-DIVISIONS.	SUB-DIVISIONS.
	Red Cap Sects ...	
	(1) Rnikmápa ...	1 Cho ...
	(2) Urgianpa ...	2 Kaión ...
	(3) Saskiápa ...	3 Lonpo ...
None	(4) Kárgiootpa.	4 Hlap dak or
	(5) Skarmápa ...	Hlardak ...
	(6) Drigongpa ...	...
	(7) Staglungpa.	...
	(8) Hlonbrukpa	...
None	Yellow Cap Sect	...
	(9) Geylukpa or	...
None	GHaldanpa...	...
	...	...
	...	...
	...	...

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CLASS IV.

Hmang riks.

CLASS V.

Tólbey riks.

SUB-DIVISIONS

- 1 Nángso (kings treasurer).
- 2 Chakdzot (steward)
- 3 Ngierpa (storekeeper).
- 4 ChhakSHi (king's domestics).
- 5 GHópa (doorkeeper).
- 6 ToGHóchey (lambardar.)
- 7 Trongspón (assistant lambar-
dar.)
- 8 Chhoonpa (the waterer of the
king's fields).
- 9 Rardzi (goatherd).
- 10 Bardzi (cowherd).
- 11 Thralpa (coolly).
- 12 Khirdzi (dogkeeper).
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SUB-DIVISIONS

- 1 Zóspon (officer of artizans).
- 2 Zópa (artizan).
- 3 Sarzópa (goldsmith).
- 4 Mulzópa (silver smith).
- 5 Zángzópa (copper smith).
- 6 Lchakzópa or gára (black
smith).
- 7 Shingkhan (carpenter).
- 8 Rtsikspon (builder).
- 9 Koszópa or kos tsem khan
(tailor).
- 10 Mon (musician.)
- 11 Hlamkhan (shoemaker).
- 12 Beyda musician.
- Malákhán juggler.

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir".

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CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own.

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DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjey phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites.

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DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.¹ The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing.

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DANCER--trakSHóзма or takSHóзма, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHóзма usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tóbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiopa or ngiáopa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan.

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DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank; by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil."

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$\frac{1}{2}$ [i.e. barley beer -- Analysis]

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463 LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or thalpa or sáthalpa (the unpaid labourers who in old days were attached to the Raja's palace).

101 LADAK--The most westerly Province of the country known to Englishmen as Tibet, is called Ladák or Ladág, though in books and classical writings the word is written "Látaks," with the first syllable long and the second short,

Europeans frequently, and Indians and Central Asians invariably, speak of the country as "Ladákh," but this is quite incorrect.

103 The word "Tibet" is unknown to the people of the country, who, if they know anything of geography, speak of Western Tibet as "Ladák," Central Tibet as Ootsang, and Eastern Tibet as Kham. It has been suggested that as "tibit" is the Persian for the finest kind of shawl-wool, and as that commodity comes from Tibet, the country was therefore named "tibit" or "shawl-wool." This explanation does not recommend itself to Major Cunningham, who says "one might as well derive the name of India from indigo." I would venture to express a different opinion. It seems to me that just as certain islands are known to Englishmen as the "Spice Islands," and to Germans as the "Gewürz Inseln," owing to the fact that spices are obtained therefrom, so the country from which the Central Asians obtained shawl-wool, may have received from them the name of "Tibet" or "shawl-wool."

101 Cunningham says that Ladák "is still known as kha-pa-chan or kha-chan," i.e., abounding in snow or "snowland." This is not quite correct, for though in books, the country, known as Ngáreeskhorsum, is alluded to as "kháwáchan," or "kángschan" (meaning "snowy" or "icy,") those terms, if used in Ladák, in the course of conversation, would not be understood. There are, however, four other names by which Ladák is known to educated Tibetans, namely, (1) Mangyool; (2) Ngárees; (3) Maryool; (4) Máryool or "red country," tradition is that once upon a time a king of Lhása died, leaving two sons, one legitimate and the other illegitimate. The illegitimate son took possession of the throne, and the other son fled to Poorang (the country between Kumáon and the Mánasarwar lake), where sometime later, three sons were born to him. When these sons grew up, the father gave countries to each of them, the most western of these (Ladák), where the clouds were red at the time of sunset, he called Máryool.

[173] The word "maryool" means "low land" and is an apt name, as Ladák

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person not intended to become a monk or nun.

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Recruits for the priesthood (geydun) are obtained from the laity (skiao); they may be of any age and of any caste. Among Lámás caste is not considered.

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Sometimes the child of well-to-do parents is made a Láva, and sometimes a fully grown man, who is in easy circumstances, becomes a Lama, but in the large majority of cases, the children brought up as Lámás, are the children of indigent parents, or orphans, or the fourth, or younger, sons, who, according to the Buddhist entail and marriage laws, have no option of sharing their eldest brother's wife and home, and so are obliged, either to become Lámás, or fight their own way in the world. Among the red cap sect, it is not uncommon for the Lámás to form illicit connections with the nuns, and any children born are brought up as monks or nuns. It may be notorious that certain monks and nuns are leading unchaste lives, and so long as nothing occurs to compel the monastery authorities to notice the fact, they shut their eyes to what is going on, but if a scandal arises, or if a nun gives birth to a child, the offending monk and nun are called to account and punished, not by expulsion from their order, but by being compelled to leave the monastery building, and go and look after monastery lands at some out-lying village. As a matter of fact, even this slight punishment is not always inflicted, and nuns, the mother of several illegitimate children may be found living at a monastery.

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Among the yellow caps, the morality and discipline is much stricter, scandals are very rare, and any nun found to be "enceinte" is instantly, along with her paramour, dismissed from the monastery.

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When a layman (skiao), whether child or man, comes to a monastery with a view to entering the priesthood, the following is the procedure observed.

The "Skiao" is taken into the presence of the "Hlóbón" or abbot, who first cuts a small lock of hair from the crown of the Skiao's head, and hangs it up in the monastery as "sra-put" or "hair initiatory present." Any "first fruit" offering is termed "put."

The next thing is to shave the "Skiao's" head, pig-tail included, after which the "Skiao" must give one zho (equal to 24 jows, or about Rs. 4-12-0) to the Hlóbón. Having done this, he becomes a "Tsunchhung" or "Geytshul" or "neophyte," and is given a "chhosming" or religious name, and sometimes the ceremony of christening (called "throos tang ches), by sprinkling with holy

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once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been scourged can remain a Láma.

Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámas may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

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LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

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LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

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LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Gíálwa Rinpochey, or the Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leadership of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one, but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots, coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, incense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

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meat if possible; (4) zára or dzára taken about 2 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea or milk, (5) GHonzan taken at evening time, consisting of satoo, tea or milk, with meat and vegetables if possible.

The poor people eat only chheenán zára and GHonzan.

MEASURE--tap-ches (a foot rule or other measure).

An account of the lineal measures in use in Ladák has already been given under the heading "Lineal Measure." For ordinary dry goods, the Indian system of weighing by seers and maunds is used, and sometimes the Kashmiri weights, called "Kacha" weights, are used, thus the following table may be drawn up:--

1 Chittak (Indian)	=	2 ounces.
1 Seer (Kashmiri)	=	12 2/3 ounces.
1 Seer (Indian)	=	2 pounds.
1 Battí (Kashmiri)	=	4 "
1 Maund (Kashmiri)	=	32 "
1 " (Indian)	=	80 "

The lower ~~clases~~ are not generally familiar with the "Chittak," they guess at any weight less than a seer.

Salt and rice and all other grains not grown in Ladák, are weighed by the above measures, but for grains grown in Ladák, the following is the system of measurement. The units of measurement are the khal, the bo or bho, and the trey or brey, or (in composition) drey.

In ordinary use there are three kinds of each of the above measures, viz., the sár-khal, the yool-khal and the phokskhal the sár-bo the yool-bo and the phoks-bo also the sár-drey, the yool-drey, and the phoks-drey. Consequently if a man speaks of any of these three measures, he must be asked which of them it is to which he refers.

There are also two other measures, the one called "pundrey" and the other "ongsdrey."

The "pundrey" is the measure used in monasteries for measuring grain paid back, as interest, on grain borrowed from the monastery. I am told it is a rather large "brey" measure.

The "ongsdrey" is used only at harvest time, for measuring, or dividing, the cleaned grain crop. I am told it is only an ordinary "brey" measure heaped up. Neither of these are of any consequence as they are not in general use, but the following

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tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal).

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[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. 798
Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of
other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be,
Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists
are called "Armendirnen".

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); áma 601
(mother).

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint 776
or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of 572
his or her own selection.

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa 426
(merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn- 448
brokers of Ladák.

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, 291
nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green 565
cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the 301
cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and
shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring
classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see
"Cloak."

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far 788
as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a
great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambula-
tion, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a
forgiveness of their sins.

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain 675
given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village black- 195
smiths or other village servants. The respectful word is
"chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition
present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i. e., 662
bribe.

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PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both

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in the neighbouring province of Baltistan, where there is no polyandry, it is common enough.

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POSSESSED--hlá zhukskhan or hlaba (of a good or evil spirit). The first word is used to signify a man only while actually under the influence of the spirit. Hlaba is applied to a person who is at [124] times so possessed. But see under "Festival." Gongpo (or feminine gongmo) is the term applied to the "spirit" with which a person is "possessed."

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PRAYER WHEEL--máney chhos khor (general); máney lak skor (hand prayer wheel); mánkey chhoo skor (water-power prayer wheel). The prayer wheel consists of a cylindrical-shaped box, made, in the case of the hand prayer wheels, of copper, and in the case of the large prayer wheels worked by water-power, of wood. The cylinder revolves on a pivot which passes through its centre, and the lower part of which serves as a handle, while at the upper extremity is affixed a metal cap, to keep the cylinder in position. The cylinder is filled with rolls of paper, on which are written prayers or texts. [125] As the cylinder revolves, the texts also revolve, and as each revolution of a prayer is equivalent in merit to its repetition, and as hundreds of prayers are revolved with each revolution of the cylinder, it is clear that, according to Buddhist ideas, much value attaches to the máney chhos-khor. To the centre of the cylinder, of the hand wheel, is attached a light chain, about three inches long, and having a small weight fastened to its extremity; thus when once the wheel has been set in motion, it requires very little effort to keep it going. Máney skor ches is "to cause a prayer wheel to revolve."

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[126]PRIMOGENITURE--góbog-i-thoptáng-i-thims (or thrims). The law of primogeniture prevails in Ladák. But see under "Entail."

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PRINCE--giálpo or giápo or rgialpo (ruler); giáloo or rgialoo (child of ruler); Shráspo or sráspo (male infant child of ruler).

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PRINCESS--giámo or rgiamo (female ruler or wife of ruler); Shrásmo or srásmo, (the female infant child of a ruler).

value of "beygar" labour supplied, has never been calculated, but it would amount to a very large sum. Indeed the people object to the supplying of "beygar" more than to the payment of the ordinary revenue. The amount of the tax, in cash and kind levied on land varies very much; thus the monasteries pay about $4 \frac{2}{5}$ annas per acre, the official aristocracy pay about $20 \frac{2}{5}$ annas per acre, and the ordinary cultivators pay about $36 \frac{2}{5}$ annas per acre. Assuming the total amount of land to be 176, we find the monasteries hold 22, the officials 13, and the villagers 141, respectively.

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[138] ROSARY--thánga or thránga (a rosary); thrángárdok (a bead of a rosary); chhupSHat (the silver, or other metal beads of a rosary); donzin (the king bead, that is to say, the large bead on the rosary which enables the teller to know when he has told the whole of the beads once). There are usually 108 "thrángárdok" on a rosary, and occasionally 109 or 111 or 113, these are the only beads which are "told"; the "donzin" marks the completion of the bead circlet, and the "chhupSHat" are for recording the number of complete bead-circlets "told."

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As each bead is "passed" or "told," the teller mutters the six syllables; Óm má nee pat mey hung, which when pronounced in the ordinary manner, sounds like Om máni padmey hung. Cunningham transcribes these sounds thus; "Aum máni padme, hun," and translates them "O lotus-bearer, hun."

Jáschke writes; "Om máni pad-me hum," and translates them "O thou jewel in the lotus, hum."

In a Buddhist sacred book, entitled the "Kábun" or (vulgarly) Káng-bum", i.e., "The hundred thousand precepts," the following fanciful explanation is given:--

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There are six spheres in which a soul or spirit may find re-embodiment (see "Metempsychosis"). If the soul cannot obtain re-admittance to any of these, it cannot be re-embodied, and must therefore go to heaven, that is to say, attain nirvána, which is the goal which all Buddhists desire to reach, with as little delay as possible. The above argument is not sound, for, according to Buddhist ideas, a soul, pending re-embodiment, or admission to heaven, may wander about disconsolate in space (sem khorároo khiám ches), and it may therefore be argued that if a "soul" which has not earned its admission to paradise is in any way prevented from taking re-birth, it will

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chhátum, 415
 or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is 195
 ladled into the cups).

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346
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[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276
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TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boo." 763

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]

TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 563

WT 2: Ramsay--98 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
584 Tibet AJ1
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WT WIDOWER--dazan or phorang.
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WT [170]WIFE--aney or zhidmát or toks or troks. But see also "Husband"
601 and "Remarriage."

WT WOO TO--Ladákis don't "woo," as their parents settle their mar-
584 riages for them.

WT [171]YEW BARK--sangldan-i pakspa. The poor Ladákis use it as tea.
565 They slightly roast it, powder it, boil it up with water, and then
722 add soda and ghee.

WT [172]ZIAFAT--phoks. This is the term for the presents of sheep,
648 ghee, etc., which, in accordance with the custom of the
431 Kashmir State, used to be made to the British Joint Com-
missioner in Ladák, each year, on his return from India to
Leh. This practice has been discontinued since 1887.

[174] ORIGIN OF THE LAPCHAK MISSION, etc.

WT I am indebted to Dr. Marx, of the Moravion Mission, for a trans-
175 lation of a portion of the History of Ladák, written by Bering Wang
648 Chung, which enables me to give the following explanation, regard-
721 ing the origin of the Lapchak and Chhaba Missions, of the so-called
T "Minsar Jágeer" of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the refusal of the
175 Lhása authorities to allow foreigners, other than natives of Ladák, to
648 enter Lhása Territory via Ladák.
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About 180 years ago, when Lha-chhen-lde-leks-rnam-rgiál was
king of Ladak, a mixed force of Mongols (the Tibetan word for Mongol
is Sokpo) and Lhása men invaded and conquered Ladák. For three
years they held possession of the country, but then "the Náváb of
Kashmir" sent up a force to aid the Ladákis, and the invaders were
defeated, and compelled to retreat to Táshis-gang (about 8 miles
east of Demjok), where they entrenched themselves, [sic] and arranged
for a treaty of peace in the following manner.

T The Drukpa (red sect) Omniscient Láma, named Mee-pham-wáng-
175 po, who in his former incarnations had always been the patron Láma
728 of the kings of Ladák, from generation to generation, was sent from
648 Lhása to Táshis-gang, to arrange the conditions of a treaty of peace--
WT for the Ladák king could never refuse to abide by the decision of the
175 Omniscient one.
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581 laughed loudly and extravagantly. Now Stobsldan started in again:
 "And just think of the 'rope' (31) that Chosskyid will bring with her;

31. The rope on which are hung the clothes that are used for the trousseau, the underclothes, shoes, and the like.

such a one you will not find again in the whole of Sham (Lower Ladakh)."
 Then Tsering Putrid spoke up: "You are right, Acho (32), if we get

[576] 32. Acho (a-jo) means "elder brother" and is the way an older man is addressed by younger men and also by women; a younger man is addressed by "No."

that rope (bride's rope) for Namgyal in our house then we shall be in fine shape and all the galons and lonpos (noblemen) in entire Ladakh will envy us. It is true, to be sure, that Chosskyid is not a very industrious girl; I hardly ever see her go out with the tsepo on her back or spinning while she is walking (with the hand spindle); but just let her get into this house; once she is here I shall teach her to work all right. Palskyid, my daughter-in-law over there, after all only learned it from me to be so industrious in the field and in the house. Chosskyid will change here ways too, just watch! And she is a pretty girl, there is not a girl in the entire district who can compare with her, and she has a gait and a posture like a shema (33).

• [565] 33. shema is a noblewoman, the wife of a galon or of a lonpo. (a woman of nobility). "

584 Nobody made any objections; they abided by this decision: the great landholder Norbu Wangchug in Tingmogang was to be asked on behalf of Namgyal to give his daughter in marriage. In the evening his father asked Namgyal whether he agreed with this. To this the boy answered that if he was not allowed to have Trashi Rolma, it was a matter of complete indifference to him whom he married. He hardly knew the girl Chosskyid and he had also heard that she had someone completely different in mind for herself; he believed that she wanted to rise to higher stations in life.

As soon as the following day, but not too early because his head was still heavy from the consultations and from the chang of the previous evening, Stobsldan saddled his horse and rode to Tingmogang

Kangra District.]

CHAP. III.—THE PEOPLE.

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proprietary holdings of the first class is described in Section D. In the case of the little plots held by people of the *dotul* class, father and son live on together, as the land is too small to be divided, and there are no responsibilities which the father could transfer with the land to the son. In the same way two or more brothers of this class live on together, often with a wife in common, till one or other, generally the weakest, is forced out to find a subsistence elsewhere. Working for food or wages, and not the plot of land, is the chief source of subsistence to these people. Sometimes the son of a *dotul* becomes a monk, but, as a rule, this profession is confined to the younger sons of the regular landholders, who take to it of necessity, but get as maintenance the produce of a field set aside as *tao* or *tsang* (from *tsa*, another word for *lama*). It is, however, only the second son who is entitled to claim *tsang*, and many do not take it from their elder brothers, and have all in common with him, including their income from begging, funeral fees, &c. This is to the advantage of the elder brother, as a celibate monk's expenses are of course very small. When there are more than two brothers, the younger ones, though they cannot get *tsang*, are considered entitled to some subsistence allowance from the head of the family, but in return they do certain kinds of work for him in the summer, during which season only the elder monks remain in the monasteries. For instance, as long as they are *chambs* or *getsal*, that is, neophytes or deacons, and not *gelong* or fully-ordained monks or priests, they will carry loads and do all field work except ploughing; when *gelong*, they will cook, feed cattle and sheep, and do other domestic services, but not carry loads or cut grass or wood. But "once a monk always a monk" is not the law in Spiti. Supposing the head of a family to die and leave a young widow, with no son or a son of tender age only, then the younger brother, if there is one, almost always elects to leave the monastery, and thereupon he is at once considered his brother's widow's husband. She cannot object, nor is any marriage ceremony necessary. If there was a son by the elder brother, he of course succeeds when of full age, and his mother and uncle retire to the small house, and the other sons, if any, go into the monasteries in the usual way. So, again, if the head of the family has only daughters, and having given up hope of getting a son, wishes to marry one of the daughters and take her husband into the house as a son and heir, it generally happens that the younger brother in the monastery objects, and says that he will leave the priesthood, and beget a son. In such case his right to do so is generally allowed: sometimes he will marry a wife to himself, and put his elder brother in the small house; sometimes, by agreement, he will cohabit with his sister-in-law in hope of getting a son by her. A monk who throws off the frock in this way has to pay a fine to his monastery. Many decline to become laymen: this is a rule in the case of those who have attained to the grade of *gelong*. Where the *lama* brother declines, then it is agreed that in the lower part of the valley (i.e., *kothis* Pin and Sham), the father or widow-mother can take a son-in-law to live in the house and succeed as son and heir, and no kinsmen (if there are any) can object. In the upper part of the

Chapter-III. B.

Social and Religious Life.

Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

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- 157 Chapter III, C. suits I have very rarely had to call witnesses: cross examination usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."
- Tribes and Castes and Leading Families. Mr. Anderson, however, remarks that the people have altered for the worse in respect of veracity since Mr. Lyall's time.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

Caste in Láhul.

Mr. Lyall, writing in 1869, thus describes the castes in Láhul:—

"The distribution into castes is as follows:—Thákurs 216, Bráhmans 502, Kanets 4,566, Dágis 360, Loháras 277, Baráras 10, Sunyáras 3, Hensis 17. The Thákurs are the *jágráras* and their offshoots; they are beginning to assert a Rájput origin, but, in point of fact, are more or less pure Botis or Mongolians by blood. The Bráhmans are only found in Pattan and are descendants of emigrants from Chambá, Láhul and other countries to the south. The so-called Láhul Kanets are a mixed race, but the Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who live in Pattan are, no doubt, descendants of Kanet settlers from Kúlu and Bangáhal; the rest, and the inhabitants of Gára and Rangloi, are pure Botiás or nearly so; the remaining tribes are also of mixed race; they constitute the lower classes who do not hold regular allotments of land, and subsist in part by serving for wages or by handicrafts. The Dágis have probably the least admixture of Botiá blood of any race in Láhul; they came from Kúlu in the time of the Rájás, and now act as musicians in the temples and in some of the monasteries. Only a few of the Loháras now act as blacksmiths; the Baráras are basket-makers; the Hensis are professional musicians, whose daughters act as dancing girls. Every year a number of the Kanets of Pattan spend the winter in washing for gold at Cheling, in Ladákh or on the Zánskár river; they pay a tax of one or two rupees per head to the Ladákh Government, and earn on an average four tolas or a little more (—1½ to 2 oz.) of pure gold in the season; they form themselves into companies of fifteen or twenty men, and appoint captains of each gang. All classes speak Tibetan, but that spoken in Pattan contains a great admixture of Hindi; each valley also has a distinct dialect of its own. Generally speaking, in Botiá or Tibetan countries, there are no distinctions of caste; there is a class distinction between the agriculturists, who form the great mass of the population, and the artisans, musicians, and others who live by wages; but though this prevents intermarriage, it does not separate the classes in the way that the rules of caste separate different tribes of Hindús. Spiti still resembles other Tibetan countries in this respect. But the people of Láhul are rapidly adopting the caste system among other Hindú customs. There are only seven regular *lámás* in Láhul, that is, *lámás* who live always in the monasteries and have no other occupation; but there are 110 of the landholders who own land and cultivate, and have very little of the monk about them, but have taken a vow and are attached as *lámás* to some monastery or other. These are found chiefly in the Gára country, where also there are seventy-one nuns known by the names of *chomo*. These monks and nuns can all read and write the Tibetan character; one nun can calculate an eclipse: the same building serves for both monastery and nunnery, but is only fully occupied in the winter."

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Chapter III, G.

Tribes and Castes
and Leading
Families.

Caste in Spiti.

Caste distinctions are said not to obtain in Spiti; but the people are divided into three classes who do not intermarry, the landowners, the artisan menials, and the minstrel beggars, and the remarks of Mr. Anderson quoted below seems to show a state of things which can scarcely be distinguished from caste in a very lax condition. Caste restrictions grow weaker and weaker as we go farther into the hills, and it is probable that there is at least as much difference in this respect between Kángra and Láhaul as there is between Láhaul and Spiti. Mr. Anderson writes thus:—

"In Spiti there are three classes: Cháhsang, Lohár or Zobo, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Cháhsang will eat from a Lohár's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Cháhsang will marry a Cháhsang, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (*ras* or *hadá*). This is the rule also with Lohárs and Hensás. Should a Cháhsang take a Lohár woman into his house, he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Cháhsang will still eat from his hand. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohár. It is said that it is not common for a Cháhsang to eat with a Hensi, but should the latter touch the food it is not thereby defiled.

"It is common among Bots (or Tibetans) generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot of a Bot should touch the food or water, it is defiled and thrown away. It is enough if the skirts pass over the food. I was told that when the Spiti people saw the Láhaul enumerators stepping across the water which ran to the Spiti encamping ground, they refused to take the water and went higher up the stream for it. This idea is found among Hindús also, but it is not so strictly acted on."

So Mr. Lyall writes:—

"All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Bethas, who are with reason treated as a very low and disreputable set of people. So again, they would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipe, or by dipping the hand in the same dish."

The landowning class returned themselves in 1868 as Kanets, but in 1881 as Cháhsang. This latter word merely means landowner, and is used generally for the people towards Tibet, Ladákh and Zánakár, in a very wide sense to mean all that speak Bhoti or Tibetan, just as *monba* or *monpa*, "the people that do not know," is used for Hindús.* These Kanets or Cháhsang are pure Tibetans, and in 1868 constituted the whole population with the exception of 100 Lohárs and 46 Bedas. The Lohárs, whose Tibetan name is Zon, are skilful smiths; they make pipes, tinder-boxes, bits, locks and keys, knives, choppers, hoes, ploughshares and chains. Some of their work is of quaint and intricate pattern. The articles are generally made to order, the smith receiving food and wages, and being supplied with the iron. These people are employed to beat drums at marriages and at festivals in the monasteries. They seldom hold land. The Bedas or Bethas correspond with the Hensás

* This is Mr. Anderson's translation of the word *monpa*. But he gives it doubtfully; and Mr. Lyall has another, and probably a more correct explanation. General Cunningham considers that the word is a survival of the Mon, a (Davidian ?) tribe who once held these hills.

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The wealthy take their children to the monastery to be named and pay a heavy fee, but the poor bring the *lama* to their homes, feed him and give him a small present of cash or grain.

The child to be named must be over a year old and may be as much as three years old.

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If a child die without being named, it is buried. If it dies after the naming ceremony, the Sacred Books are consulted as to the disposal of the body.

The naming ceremony is not considered to have any effect on the child's future.

Adoption.

a.—Where there is no son.

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If a land-owner have no son, but only a daughter, she is ordinarily married to a man ranking as an adopted son. This man must be a younger son and so able to leave his father's house. He is not in any way looked down on.

However, if the land-owner have a younger brother who would ordinarily be a *lama* he can object, because a son-in-law can only be taken into the house as heir with his consent, and he can claim to cohabit with the land-owner's wife and beget a son. Or, if the wife be old, he can marry another woman and try and get a son by her. If he does, the elder sonless brother is turned into the *khang chung*, and the *lama* takes possession of the *khang chhen*.

b.—Where there is no child.

If there is no child and no younger brother, or if the younger brother does not object, the land-owner adopts a married man of his own got, or he adopts a girl and finds a husband for her who is made his heir. If in this case, the younger brother objects he can be bought off with a field or a pony or money or some similar present.

c.—The adopted son.

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Once a man is adopted as a son, he cannot be set aside, but there can be no adoption if a real son exists. If, after adopting a son, a real son is born, the latter becomes a younger son, and has to become a *lama* or is given a field for maintenance, while the adopted son gets the main portion of the land. The real son cannot

My Medical Practice

"My back aches, Sahib," the first one said, indicating the muscles along his spine. Prescription: two aspirin now, two at bedtime. 164 757

"My legs ache, Sahib," said the second, rubbing the muscles of his thighs. Prescription: two aspirin now, two at bedtime.

"My head aches, Sahib," said the third, touching his temples. He had no fever. Prescription: one aspirin now, one at bedtime.

The next two had simple headaches but no fever. Prescription: the same.

The sixth one puzzled me. He had a severe headache around his eyes and his temples. I had no fever thermometer, but I knew from his forehead that his temperature was well above one hundred. He had a nasty cough that sounded dry and rasping. The man, was sick, and I was stumped. I decided to roll him up by the fire, give him two aspirin, and then see him again in an hour.

His son, aged ten, had followed him from the village of Koti, apparently apprised of the father's illness. As the man lay before the fire, the son sat at his head and massaged his temples. In an hour I asked the patient how he felt; but before he could reply the son spoke up.

"This is a cruel world. You are rich, we are poor. We have to work hard for our living. Father gets up at dawn and works until dark. So does Mother. We all work hard. It is not fair. It is not fair that you are so rich and we are so poor." 565 • 208

Turning to Rahul, I asked, "What is the meaning of this?"

"Communist propaganda," he replied. "In this part of the world the Communists try to plant simple and troublesome questions in the minds of the young."

"Ask again about my patient." 208

Once more the son responded, complaining of the gulf between the rich and the poor.

"I don't care right now about your political philosophy," I replied. "How's your father?"

511 they themselves took a little barley-and-water soup. ver
 574 was there a cup from which we should have cared to drink, for
 our supper consisted of one and a half buns each, which the
 Memsahib had hastily crammed into a pocket. As soon as
 it was light enough to see, we crept out of that chamber of
 death into the crisp freshness of the morning air, leaving our
 ponies and saddlebags to be sent afterwards, and made our
 way over the hard snow to the nurse's home, which happened
 613 fortunately to be in the same village. Here, then, we roused
 the family from where they slept, all together in the big
 kitchen-room. The old grandmother was in the cosy corner,
 cuddling up a little grandchild, and other members had their
 bedding on the floor round the room, the head of the house
 574 and his wife being in an adjacent chamber. The latter was
 soon blowing the bellows, and the nurse made a hot native
 soup for the Doctor Memsahib; and how welcome it was with
 its tiny wormlike rolls of flour and water in the steaming
 264 broth. Later on chupattis and butter-tea were prepared for
 the family breakfast, which was served about nine o'clock, the
 women clustering near the big stove, the men warming them-
 selves round a fire of sticks kindled on the floor near by, and
 the head of the home doing a little spinning as he waited for
 572 his meal. In this establishment the old grandmother, a
 widow, had been assigned separate rooms in the house, so that
 428 she could live quite independently if she pleased. It is quite
 usual when the son of the house marries and has reached
 years of discretion, for his parents to retire if they wish to do
 so. Then all the possessions are divided into three parts, the
 parents retaining one, whilst the other two go to the eldest
 son. When the parents die, he also gets their share. Finally
 everything really belongs to the heir, but he is responsible
 for seeing that the other members of the family have sufficient
 provision.

264 But before we leave the family group round the fire, let us
 inquire a little more into the nature of their meals, and some

Domesticities

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of the customs concerned in the partaking thereof. The better class Ladaki always washes his face and hands before eating. The Buddhist also performs his particular kind of grace before meals. First he takes a little of his flour which he throws away for the gods. Then he dips his ring-finger and thumb into his tea or *chang* (beer), and flips a taste of that away for their benefit, too. He uses the ring-finger as he considers this the cleanest of his digits, for man is born with this finger in his nose. If he wishes to stir anything, he uses this same member. If for his meal he has killed a sheep, he is supposed to offer up a bit of its heart, kidney, liver and every part of its flesh to his god. But meat is rather a luxury for the normal household, yet they have many ways of cooking it which are really delicious. When a *dron* or feast is made, the meat is of course, prepared as a very tasty curry to be eaten with rice, the meat being first fried with plenty of cooking-butter and onions, then stirred for hours till it is really tender in a well-flavoured sauce with plenty of vegetables. The rice is served, piled up on enormous plates, each of which two or three guests will attack, unless they have brought their own normal sized plates. The grander ones then eat with small spoons, the man's being a different shape from the woman's, as the latter is double, the second tiny receptacle at one end being for a child. It is not etiquette to finish up what is on the plate—in most cases it would be impossible; the mother especially must take a large portion home for the rest of the family. The feast is usually begun with butter-tea, and, if so, when the plates of rice and meat have been removed, it is quite good manners in some circles to clean out the cup with one's tongue (much more labour-saving than our ways of washing up!), ready to have it filled with stewed dried apricots. After this course, the same cleansing process will prepare the cup for more filling of butter-tea! "Chupattis," that is, round flat cakes of unleavened bread, are generally served too, and dipped into the apricot juice or the tea. At a very grand

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Domesticities

762 feast, proceedings may begin with *gyatug*, a dish of long
 574 vermicelli-like strips of flour-paste over which mincemeat in
 a nicely flavoured sauce is poured. Meat is also minced and
 made into delicious little dumplings, called *mok mok*, or well-
 flavoured and rolled up into sausages, which are eaten with
 ● [565] rice—in fact in a rich house, after the plates of rice have been
 served, many kinds of subsidiary dishes are handed round with
 [357] meat done up in different ways, sauces and vegetables, the last
 often soured. For a *dron* an experienced cook is hired to
 take charge of all the culinary operations, usually a Mussul-
 man, otherwise one of the women of the house superintends
 762 the kitchen. But in the villages where there are no butcher
 shops, and a sheep is killed only occasionally, the staple food
 is butter-tea and barley-flour, varied with all sorts of vegetables
 prepared in several ways. The poorest people mix the flour
 in water just as it is, eating it out of cheap little wooden cups
 with their fingers.

762 An ordinary middle class family will breakfast on butter-tea
 565 and small breads, raised with leaven called *kambir*; at mid-
 day they will have more tea, and perhaps chupattis with a
 sauce of vegetables, mixed with buttermilk, while in the
 evening, tea may or may not be served again with flour
 kneaded into a paste in some form or other, and mixed with
 meat well stewed in a broth.

More usually as the hot tea is drunk, the butter floating on
 the top is blown to one side, and after many cups a nice little
 residue is left with which to mix up the raw flour with the aid
 of a finger.

752 In summer when milk is more plentiful, its various products
 [762] are much used as a food. The milk is collected into a large
 pot at night and warmed, some sour buttermilk being added
 to make it curdle. The pot is then covered with garments
 and blankets so as to maintain the blood-heat for proper
 fermentation. Some of it may be set aside to eat as *zho*, this
 being a kind of junket, only less insipid, especially when well

868 are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one [872] rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

802 But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as

805 pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and

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565 the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving

782 the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not

614 be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must

776 be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the

god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs.

For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the

members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These

are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at

a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided

over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a

remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the

country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The

778 altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and

782 on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into

792 the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

Occidental Treatment for Oriental Maladies 147

of former sins. Another patient—this time a Royal one be 757
 it noticed—asks for some medicine which will stop his beard
 from growing. Could such be produced much trouble
 might be saved for him as well as many others. The next
 comer informs us that he himself is not a patient, but that
 away at his home his little brother is suffering from headache,
 and is quite aggrieved that treatment without examination is
 refused. Now a Balti comes, who says he is perfectly well at
 present, but that he is quite certain one day he will have a
 pain in his digestive organs, and he would like to be prepared
 against that day. Another old gentleman has returned for
 more medicine, although only yesterday he had been provided
 for three days, and on being reproached for having disobeyed
 instructions, advances the perfectly reasonable argument that,
 if one dose of medicine is going to do him good, ten doses
 will multiply the good effect tenfold.

Having seen all our out-patients and attended to their 757
 treatment, we adjourn to the operating-room where a cataract 565 ●
 is to be removed. To-day our patient is of noble rank, being
 the mother of the chief Rajah of Ladak. Some days pre-
 viously the old King had asked us to operate on his maternal
 relative, and we actually fixed the date, but, alas! he found on
 consulting his horologist and books, that we had chosen a [787]
 most inauspicious day and begged the Doctor to change it,
 which he did. There lies the old lady on the operating-table,
 her refined features and well-kept hands testifying to her good
 breeding. We scrub our hands so thoroughly that the
 onlookers, among whom is the King, no doubt feel this is
 part of a religious performance preceding the operation.
 Having arranged the sterile towels, we are just about to start, [782]
 when the exalted son begins walking up and down the room
 rapidly, saying his *Om Mani pa dme hungs*, the while turning
 the beads of his rosary. This is hardly conducive to the
 stillness an English surgeon would desire when performing
 a cataract extraction. The obstructing lens is removed, how-

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ever, and great is the joy when the old lady finds she can again see, but she can hardly be surprised, when the day was so auspicious, and her son's prayers had been so vigorously performed. She was then sent back to her ward, which had been converted into a fairly regal apartment by means of Tibetan rugs and cushions and other paraphernalia brought from her castle. Fourteen days later she was told she could now return to her home, but she told her royal Physician that she was so enjoying her holiday that she would like to stay in our Hospital for another fortnight. Her royal wish was regarded as a command, and we prolonged her holiday, but before she finally left, she honoured us by calling at our house with her retinue, and to testify their gratitude for restored sight she and her son presented us with gifts.

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But now let us go to the wards. The word "ward" conjures up pictures of long rooms, with spick-and-span white painted walls, and floors so polished and smooth, that one feels skates would be the safest foot-gear; tables with plate-glass tops and beautiful flowers, and rows of white, quilted beds. But in the frontier hospitals of India, wards are not quite of this nature. When a Ladaki goes to Hospital, he does not go alone, but likes to take as many of his family with him as he can, and our wards are made to accommodate them all. This has the further advantage that the family's cooking fire, which is often made on the floor in the centre of the "ward" helps to heat the room. The whole building is made of mud bricks, some floors are boarded, others are not.

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We enter the first ward. Here is a man on whom we operated to remove large tumours, depending from the lobes of his ears, which had formed because he would persist in wearing ear-rings. We warn him that if he does not restrain his vanity in future, he will get further growths, but he replies that it is a religious duty for him to wear the ornaments, and he had actually come to have his keloids removed in order to be able to wear ear ornaments again. In the next ward we find an

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586 gaiety does not stand the test of time, divorce can be obtained
 [538] by payment of an animal. The Ladaki proverb thus states
 the situation : " If the husband is turned out he can demand
 a pony, but the wife can expect a cow." The horse and cow
 given need only be strong enough to walk round a dunghill.
 If one of the pair dies and was the owner of the house, the
 living partner is tied by a piece of string to the corpse of the
 other, and when the string is broken by pulling on it, the
 marriage-tie is also broken. Such means are only resorted to
 if the living partner wishes to leave the house, but he or she
 may remain if preferred. In the former case nothing need
 be paid on leaving the house, and the party's own goods may
 be taken away also. Thus each takes his or her own property,
 and the one who was brought to the house must also pay for
 a large part of the wedding festivities.

583 Obviously the easiest method of marrying is by stealing,
 after which it is also much easier to divorce. An additional
 advantage to the young people is that they may choose each
 other instead of being subject to their parents' selection.
 ●[565] Also little care is taken to preserve class.

586 If the divorcée returns to her parents' home, she is not
 614 ~~allowed~~ to enter her parents' temple, and sometimes she is
 not ~~even~~ allowed to sit in front of their fire-place, because at
 marriage she joined another *paspun*.

587 A man or woman may marry a second time, but there are
 595 no wedding festivities. Should the first wife bear her husband
 no children, he may take a second one or *Chanchung*. If possible
 she should be the younger sister of the first wife, if not, a
 cousin or near relation. If she produces no posterity, the
 husband must do without. The first wife retains priority of
 rank even though the second becomes a mother. If a *magpa*
 and his bride have no children, a *Chanchung* is brought for
 the *magpa*, she being a near relative of the heiress.

595 Before leaving the subject of marriage, we must say a
 little more about the customs of polyandry, as Ladak is one

244 Introduction to the Hemis Mystery Play

797 baby antics, mimicry of the dancers, and enjoyment of the
796 tamasha, till finally we met his diminutive Holiness being
carried off in his lama's arms down the steps to bed, still full
of beans, and turning from a blessing he was instructed to
give to a bowing worshipper to look back at the strange
MemSahib, and lift his hand to his forehead saying "zhu"
to her.

796 Now we must turn our attention to the ceremonies and first
536 endeavour to present their strangely fascinating setting. The
European visitors are asked kindly to bring their own chairs,
which are placed in a row on a covered balcony one storey
above the court-yard and facing the main buildings of the
monastery. These are four storeys high, the upper ones
having a series of verandahs, each adorned across the top with
a valance, in which the *élite* of the country sit. One of the
upper ones belongs to the *Skushog's* own private rooms, and
only himself, the old ex-King, who is now leading a priestly
life as a hermit in a neighbouring nullah, and one or two
high-born gentlemen appear in it. A large cloth is hung over
it, so that their privacy may be maintained when desirable,
but, during the performances, the old King is seen in full view,
while the dark-blue spectacled eyes and clean-shaven and
shorn face and head of the *Skushog* frequently appear under a
raised corner. In the adjacent anterooms sit other honoured
guests, while the lower storey balconies seem reserved for
ladies, for many widely-turquoised *perags* are seen from time
to time. Placed on the roof at intervals are sticks supporting
yak's tails, three-skirted umbrella-like structures, and others
made of yak's wool. At the left-hand corner of the court-yard
a wide flight of nine steps leads up to the main door on the
first storey, and this throughout provides a centre of unceasing
fascination. Not only do the actors enter and depart up and
down these steps, but the whole time they are peopled by
lamas ascending and descending, sitting and standing, a most
wonderful kaleidoscope of red, the extraordinary thing being,

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THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS

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which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet - the *rü* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance.

In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible.

Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nonq Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer.

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action.

I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porlag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the

142 Ladākhis, as before said, have a receding one; the Chāmpās,
 181 again, have a more expressive mouth. They are a most
 hardy and a most cheerful set of people. Living all their lives
 in a severely cold climate, and getting a scanty subsistence, they
 still have the best of spirits. When, after a day's journey, they
 collect round the scanty fire that is warming their evening meal,
 their merry laughter shows what a good heart they can keep in
 what, to strangers, seem to be the hardest of circumstances.
 [22] Their lives are spent in tents; they stay for a month or two at
 a time in one spot, to graze their flocks and herds, and then they
 move with them whither the advancing season promises better
 pasture. Some few details of their way of living will be given
 when we come to describe the country itself which they frequent.

291 The dress of the Chāmpās is almost the same as that of the
 Ladākhis, only that some of them wear the long wide coat of lamb-
 skin, instead of woollen cloth.

582 As a rule, the Chāmpās and Ladākhis do not intermarry. The
 563 religion of the two is the same, but it lies light on the Chāmpās.
 162 Their young men do not become Lāmās. The number of these
 Chāmpās within this territory is very small; there are hardly
 more than a hundred families of them. Ethnologically they are
 not different from those who inhabit the next tracts to the south-
 east—country which is under the Government of Lhāsa.

COLONIES IN LADĀKH.

● 565 There are some families who come and go with the summer,
 221 and a very few who have settled, of a race called *Khamba*. They
 are of the country named Kham, far to the east of Lhāsa. By what
 road they first came from their own country I know not, but now
 they reach the districts of Zānskār and Rupshu from, strange to
 say, the side of India. They are of Tibetan race, and their
 language, though different from that of our Chāmpās, still can be
 understood by them. The Khamba are professional beggars, of a
 very vagrant disposition; they wander about some part of India
 in the cold months, and find their way up here in the summer,
 565 subsisting by begging. It is strange that they should come to such

c. Professional beggars who come from Tibet to
in the summer. Analyst]

a poor country as the higher parts of Ladákh for the exercise of their calling; but the Bhots, though poor, are charitable. These Khambas, too, give themselves a religious air, as do most beggars in the East, and that may help them. But in truth, in their ways, they are more like to the gipsies than to devotees. They have their wives and children with them, and these all come round in succession to beg, as if independent of each other. They live in the smallest of tents; these are only just high enough for one to seat oneself on the floor beneath them. The tent and their other traps are carried on the backs of a few of the load-carrying goats which they always possess. The Maharaja's authorities have tried to persuade some of these Khambas to take to agriculture, and a bit of land has been given for this object by the Pāngkong Lake. I saw one family there, who had commenced to till, and had left off their inveterate habit of begging; but they were still in tents, and had not begun to build a house.

The next colonizers to be mentioned are *Baltis*. This race of Baltis will be more fully spoken of in the chapter which treats of their own country, Baltistán; here I will only name their settlements in Ladákh.

In the first place, there are Baltis inhabiting the valleys of Drās and Surū, and the tract about Pāskim, which is called Purik. These are not geographically separated from the main body of their countrymen in Baltistán, which district borders on Drās; but they have some slight differences.

Then there is an isolated colony of Baltis right in the middle of the Bhot country, only a few miles from Leh. The largest tract of cultivated land in Ladákh is in great part held by them; this is at a place called Chushot, on the left bank of the Indus, from five to ten miles from Leh. These immigrant Baltis came four or five generations back, some from Purik and some from Skāndū.

*Dārd*s are found in Drās and in several places along the valley of the Drās River, and again in a few villages in the valley of the Indus, being there interpolated between the Baltis and the Ladákhis. It is at these last places that some Buddhist Dārd's occur; these make small and very much isolated communities.

The result of the crossing of breeds, in each of these three cases, cannot be said to be good. The half-castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from. This is probably due—and I think the remark may have a wider application than to the small communities here, may apply to the mixed breeds of many other countries—to the want of family ties and of the training in social habits of which children of almost every race get something in the ordinary course of things, but which is broken through when unusual connections are made. An exception to be made from the above general statement of their low moral state—that of some respectable families of the Kashmiri half-castes—in some measure corroborates what has just been said, insomuch that these have for some generations formed a community of settled habits and have again acquired a standard of morals of which the miscellaneous half-castes seem quite devoid.

MODE OF LIVELIHOOD.

Almost all the Ladākhis are engaged in agriculture; the number of artisans is very small indeed, and of shopkeepers of that race there are hardly any; the shopkeepers of the town of Leh—the only town in the whole country—are either of the half-castes or are strangers. Thus the greater part of the population of Ladākḥ are connected with the soil. They form a peasantry tilling their own land. The area cultivated by one family is from two to four acres. From the produce of this, and from the incomings of miscellaneous labour which they undertake, they manage to pay the Government demand and to get for themselves a fair living.

The sons of a family neither divide the heritage nor themselves separate, but they enjoy the estate in common, in one household; the domestic institution which is necessarily connected with this arrangement will be spoken of farther on.

The people of rank also have their interest in the soil; some have grants of land free, or to a certain extent free, of the Government land-tax; others have land bearing

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565 that burden which they are able to make some profit out of
241 by employing labourers.
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241 The grain which is most prolific and which is grown to the greatest extent is grim, or loose-grained barley, and it is the meal of this grain that the Ladākhis mostly eat. Grim is a hardy plant; it is cultivated even at the height of 15,000 feet; this height indeed is exceptional; there is only one place at that altitude where it grows, about twelve acres being there sown with it; but at 13,700 and 14,000 feet there are villages dependent on its cultivation. At lower levels, besides the grim, wheat is grown. But little of this is consumed by the Ladākhis themselves; they grow it for the market, for the use of the people of the town and of the travelling merchants. Wheat does well up to 11,500 feet; it is cultivated, but with less success, even at 12,800 feet. Peas, and barley (of the kind common in other countries) are crops that grow at almost as great heights as any. This barley is given to horses. In the lower parts of Ladākh—from 10,500 or 10,000 feet downwards—two crops can be got off the same land. I think that barley or grim is, commonly, the first and millet the second crop. Rice does not grow in Ladākh. Maize has been tried in a garden without much success; the ears of it which I saw were only four inches long.

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Every crop, as has been said, requires irrigation for its growth; several times has the land to be watered to bring on the plant. In the middle of Ladākh, if there be a sufficient supply of water, the crop is secure; there sunshine never fails for the ripening of it. In Zānskār, however, which is near the most snowy range, and in some of the very high parts, there is sometimes a failure of the sun-warmth necessary to ripen the grain.

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Ploughing is done chiefly with the hybrid of the yāk bull and the common cow; this they call *zo* if male and *zomo* if female. The yāk itself is not good for the plough.* The corn is sometimes reaped with a sickle, sometimes pulled up by the roots from the loose soil.

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* The yāk, however, is very useful for carrying burdens. The Ladākhis earn a good deal as carriers of merchants' goods with their yāks, their *zos*, and their ponies.

POSITION OF THE WOMEN.

562 To a native of India the complete social liberty of the women
462 of Ladākh seems very strange. This liberty, I think it may be said, is as great as that of workmen's wives in England; not only do Ladākhi women go about unveiled, but also they mix where men frequent and enter with them into their pursuits of business or pleasure, and partake too of their toil. I have told what good weight-carriers the women are; in agriculture also they take their share of the work; when the seed is in, the tending of the fields—the watering and so on—is a great deal left to the women, the men perhaps having work abroad.

595 Thus far we may think woman's position here to be better than
161 in India, but what is next to tell darkens the picture. Polyandry,
[565] plurality of husbands, is, except among the few richer people, quite general; it is much more nearly universal than is polygamy in India, and for this reason, that polygamy is a custom itself expensive, practically reserved for the well-to-do, while polyandry is an economical arrangement, one established on the poverty of a barren country, and extending throughout the people as far as indigence itself does.

[167] There can be no doubt that the practice of polyandry in Ladākh originated from the smallness of the extent of land that could be tilled and the general inelasticity of the country's resources, while the isolation from the rest of the world—isolation of manners, language, and religion, as well as geographical isolation—hindered emigration. It was found impossible for the younger ones either to marry and settle or to go out for their living. They naturally became mere helpers in the household—farm-servants to the elder brother. From that there came about the curious custom that when the elder brother marries a wife she becomes a wife to all the brothers. The younger brothers remain in a very subordinate position in the family, but the wife is held in common. The children recognize all as father, speaking of their elder and their younger fathers. As many as four brothers thus may become, and do become, husbands to the same wife; I

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